ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW
ED001500	N.A.	N.A.	

4. AUTHOR(S):
Samora, Dr. Julian

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED:
The Education of the Spanish-Speaking in the Southwest - An Analysis of the 1960 Census Materials

6. PUBLICATION TITLE:
N.A.

7. EDITOR(S):
N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
ORG. University of Notre Dame
ST. Notre Dame, Indiana
CITY, STATE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE
Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana

TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	1/63	14

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TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☒
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR
report

16. INDEXING TERMS (8-12)

lower status	school attendance	housing	Spanish-speaking	
dropout problems	judiciary role	equal opportunities	bilingualism	
school funds	segregation	motivational factors	Mexican-Americans	
		Southwest		

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Facts about income, employment, unemployment, housing and occupations revealed that more Spanish-speaking fall in lower status categories in regard to education than do other groups of the Southwest. They are isolated geographically and culturally from the mainstream of Western civilization and live a life based on agriculture. They have no particular need for education as we know it today. Mexicans do not have the tradition of public education in their cultural heritage.

The greatest problem in the Spanish-speaking community with regard to education is that of the dropout; among the Spanish-speaking, optimum conditions for the pursuit of education have seldom existed. In recent years two developments have arisen to improve the situation: school funds have been changed in accordance with actual school attendance, and the courts have restrained school districts and their officers from segregating Mexican pupils. Yet, segregated housing and rural living still compound problems arising from a low educational status. The lack of motivation for continuing education on the part of the Spanish-speaking and the role of the school system in providing equal educational opportunities represent two other major problematic areas. The school system should take a more positive stand in educating these groups. Parents should develop more supportive attitudes toward the value of education to keep their youngsters in school.

ERIC No.	18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT		
	C. FUNDING DATA		
	19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. PROJECT NO.
		22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
		23. DURATION OF PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1

l c 5

ED001500

PAPER PRESENTED BY

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NOTRE DAME, INDIANA

(at the Mexican - American Workshop, sponsored by Careers for Youth and the Mexican - American community on January 18, 1963)

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THE EDUCATION OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IN THE SOUTHWEST -- AN ANALYSIS OF THE 1960 CENSUS MATERIALS

The 1960 U. S. Census enumerates 3,464,996 persons of Spanish surname in the five Southwestern states. If one takes into account the Puerto Rican migration to the U.S., the number of Spanish surnames in other states, the number of Latin Americans and the legal and illegal entrants across the Mexican border, the number of Spanish-speaking people in the U.S. is at least six million.

Table 1 gives a number of selected ethnic groups in the Southwest which will provide the basis of the following discussion.

During the past ten years there has been considerable population movement and growth in the Southwest. Confining ourselves to a consideration of the Spanish-speaking only, Arizona increased 51%, California 88%, Colorado 33%, New Mexico 8% and Texas 37%. Of all the Spanish-speaking in the Southwest, 5% are in Colorado, 6% in Arizona, 8% in New Mexico and 41% each in Texas and California. Thus 82% are in the two states of California and Texas.

Although the main subject of concern in this paper is education, a look at the related but peripheral characteristics of the population such as income, employment, unemployment, housing and occupations reveal that in the most general terms more Spanish-speaking fall in lower status categories than do the other groupings in the Southwest.

Those people today who claim that the Spanish-speaking are unindustrious, unambitious, and do not "take to education," need but

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to review the history of this population in the United States. The general situation is this: we find a people who came to this country in the (early) 1600's and 1700's; who established a folk society based on European traditions; who were isolated geographically and therefore culturally from the mainstream of western civilization; who lived a relatively "slow" life based on agriculture and the seasons; who had no particular need for education as we know it today; who, when conquered, were not assisted by the conquerors to make an adjustment to the new society; and who, when faced with the competition of the dominant society, could do little but withdraw into further isolation. When educational facilities were finally established, the Spanish-Americans could not be expected to flock to the institutions since essentially these were not an integral part of their culture. Even today, although facilities are generally adequate, the consequences of the long historical tradition are evident.

This whole picture for the Southwest was compounded by the influx of a large number of immigrants (generally speaking, peasant, rural, uneducated, of lower social-economic status) from Mexico who also did not have the tradition of public education in their background. The latter immigrations, however, faced not only the same general problem of the previous group, but on top of it was heaped the scourge of discrimination and segregation. Segregation in educational facilities has been well documented, particularly for the State of Texas, where, in many instances, three public school systems have been maintained; one for the Mexican, one for the Negro, and one for the Anglo. In many areas of New Mexico and Colorado discrimination was not so flagrant. Many communities have had their

Table No. 1

THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOUTHWESTERN STATES, BY STATE: 1960

State	Total Population	Spanish Surname	Negro	Indian	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other
Arizona	1,302,161	194,356	43,403	83,387	1,501	2,936	943	474
California	15,717,204	1,426,534	834,642	39,014	157,317	95,600	65,459	20,723
Colorado	1,753,947	157,173	39,992	4,288	6,846	724	605	792
New Mexico	951,023	269,122	17,063	56,255	930	362	192	458
Texas	9,579,677	1,417,811	1,187,125	5,750	4,053	4,172	1,623	2,123
Total	29,403,912	3,464,996	2,222,225	188,694	270,647	103,794	68,822	24,570

Sources: Table 15 in PC (1) 4B; PC (1) 6B; PC (1) 7B; PC (1) 33B: PC (1) 45B & Press Release - June 3, 1962 CB62 - 79 by the United States Department of Commerce.

Prepared for the Mexican-American Seminar, January 18-19, 1963, Phoenix, Arizona, by Dr. Julian Samora, University of Notre Dame.

"Mexican rooms" for years and years. This is segregation on pseudo-pedagogical grounds, the reasoning being that children who come to school who are Spanish-speaking should be placed in a room by themselves in order to learn English. One community in Colorado had such segregation through the first four grades as late as 1950. A neighboring community in southern Colorado just abandoned their "Mexican room" last year after pressure was brought about by the local Spanish-speaking citizenry.

The biggest problem to date in the Spanish-speaking community with regard to education is the drop-out problem. In the United States formal education has been considered important for enlightened citizenship and in recent years education has also become the foundation for occupational opportunities and related socio-economic status.

Among the Spanish-speaking the optimum conditions for the pursuit of educational endeavors have seldom existed. The most common barriers have been inadequate facilities, forced segregation, cultural factors (language handicaps, little value placed on educational achievement, etc.), low socio-economic status and a lack of enforcement of the laws by local officers. The results have been that over the years Spanish-speaking children have either not attended school, have attended irregularly, have dropped out sooner, or have received an inferior education.

In recent years two things have happened to improve the situation somewhat: 1) in most states the state allotment of school funds has been changed from the basis of an annual school census, irrespective of school attendance[2] to an average daily attendance basis,

Table No. 2

MEDIANS FOR YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, SPANISH SURNAME, ALL WHITE, NON-WHITE, FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATE

1950 and 1960

STATE	SPANISH SURNAME		ALL WHITE		NON-WHITE	
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960
Arizona	6.1	7.0	10.6	11.7	5.5	7.0
California	7.6	8.6	11.8	12.1	8.9	10.5
Colorado	6.4	8.1	10.9	12.1	9.8	11.2
New Mexico	7.4	7.7	9.5	11.5	5.8	7.1
Texas	3.6	4.7	9.7	10.8	7.0	8.1

Table No. 3

PERCENT OF SPANISH SURNAME, ANGLOS AND NON-WHITES, 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, WHO HAVE COMPLETED FOUR YEARS OF SCHOOL OR LESS, AND HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE IN THE FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES, 1960.*

STATE	SPANISH		ANGLO		NON-WHITE	
	4 Years or Less	High School or More	4 Years or Less	High School or More	4 Years or Less	High School or More
Arizona	35.1	14.6	22.5	45.0	37.5	15.7
California	24.0	24.4	3.6	54.8	12.0	39.8
Colorado	24.0	18.3	3.2	54.6	8.3	44.6
New Mexico	29.6	18.9	3.7	56.9	39.2	19.0
Texas	52.0	11.7	6.3	46.3	23.6	20.9

*Data is based on 25% sample by Bureau of the Census.

Source: PHC (1) for the respective SMSA'S and unpublished Minor Civil Divisions results for Spanish-Surname population.

thus increasing the interest of school officials in actual school attendance; and 2) through the Mendez Case in Texas (1948), and other cases, the courts have restrained school districts and their officers from segregating pupils of Mexican or other Latin American descent in separate schools or classes.

The death blow to segregated schooling has not been dealt, however, as long as segregated housing continues; nor have the subtleties of discrimination ended. A noted educator as late as April, 1962, stated that in some schools in his state (Texas), the practice of multiple ability groups continued discrimination.3

A comparison of the three populations in the five states (1950-1960) concerning the median school years completed (Table 2) reveals that the "all-white" population (which includes the Spanish-speaking) had a higher median school years completed than the others and the Spanish-speaking had the lowest median except in Arizona and New Mexico in 1950, when the non-whites (in these cases predominantly Indian) had the lowest median. Note that in the ten-year period the non-white population has had a slightly higher increase in all states. Note, also, that the non-whites in California, Colorado and Texas (predominantly Negroes) show greater achievement than the Spanish-speaking.

Median school years completed is a crude statistic which doesn't discriminate very much. If we look at the data in another way, dramatic differences appear.

Table 3 gives the percentages of the three populations who

have completed four years of school or less, and high school or more, in the five states for 1960.

Note the great differences between the Anglos and the other two populations. Texas is the most revealing.

We have dealt with the educational statistics at the state level; now let us turn our attention to a smaller unit, namely, the standard metropolitan statistical area (hereafter called the SMSA).

SMSA ANALYSIS

Data on education for all the SMSA's (comparing Spanish-speaking, Anglos and non-whites) clearly shows the Spanish-speaking to be concentrated in the lower educational category "under four years," which category has been described by some educators as being "functionally illiterate".

The SMSA's in Colorado and New Mexico (with the exception of San Francisco) have the lowest percentages under four years of schooling for the Spanish-speaking. Texas has in ten out of fifteen SMSA's Spanish populations with forty or more per cent under four years of schooling; eight out of ten California SMSA's have twenty or more per cent (one out of five or more) in the same category.

Such low educational performance cannot be "explained away" by ascribing the low educational status of the Spanish-speaking to their Mexican Origins -- it seems evident that if a border city like San Diego can keep its functionally illiterate population down to 20%, why should Bakersfield, Stockton and Fresno (farther north) have

over 35% of their Spanish populations in this category? Perhaps rurality is the explanation for such low educational status. But then the Spanish-speaking have been predominantly urban since 1950. Tucson (farther south) has 24%, whereas Phoenix has 43% in the same low educational category. In Texas: why should Lubbock (not a border SMSA) show 68% in this low educational category, when Beaumont-Port Arthur can show 24%? El Paso, a border city, shows 37% functionally illiterate, whereas Laredo, another border city, shows 47%. Also, if El Paso's better showing is to be explained by the fact that the lower educational status migrants from Mexico do not stop there, then how could Albuquerque (directly north and a heavy concentration of Spanish) show only 19% in the low status category? Further, it seems clear that Texas cities do less for the education of the Spanish generally as they move northward into Texas, e.g., Corpus Christi (53%), Austin (54% and the state capitol), Abilene (56%), San Angelo (58%). In addition, if a city like San Antonio has had a large Latin population for several decades, how can over four out of ten Latins, with less than four years of schooling, and only five out of one hundred Anglos in the same category be explained? San Antonio has done a remarkably better job for Negroes (15%) than for Spanish -- the same is true on the high school levels.

Comparing Spanish and Anglo in "under four years schooling", the differences are dramatic and follow the patterns noted above; however, specific note may be taken of the following:

1) 64% <u>more</u> Spanish are functionally illiterate compared to Anglos in Lubbock (only 15% more of non-whites

than Anglos). The differentials in other cities (Spanish and Anglo):

50% plus: San Angelo, Abilene

40 - 49%: Odessa, Corpus Christi, Austin

30 - 39%: Phoenix, Bakersfield, Fresno, Dallas, El Paso, Houston, Laredo, San Antonio, Waco

20 - 29%: Tucson, San Bernardino, San Jose, Santa Barbara, Stockton, Fort Worth, Galveston

2) "High School Plus" differentials (favoring Anglos):

40 - 49%: Phoenix, Tucson, Santa Barbara, Pueblo, Albuquerque, Austin, Corpus Christi, El Paso, Laredo, Lubbock, San Angelo, San Antonio

30 - 39%: Fresno, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Jose, Denver Abilene, Dallas, Houston, Odessa

Non-whites in the Southwest generally are far better off in terms of educational achievement than the spanish-speaking.

TABLE 4

EDUCATION: 4 YEARS OR LESS COMPARED TO 4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL + COMPLETED, ACCORDING TO SPANISH SURNAME, ANGLO AND NON-WHITE BY S M S A'S IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES*

AREA	SPANISH SURNAME		ANGLO		NON-WHITE	
	4 Years or Less	4 Years H.S. +	4 Years or Less	4 Years H.S. +	4 Years or Less	4 Years H.S.+
ARIZONA						
Phoenix	42.7	12.5	3.7	52.8	21.2	22.3
Tucson	29.4	18.3	2.4	59.3	30.2	18.6
CALIFORNIA						
Bakersfield	35.9	17.3	5.5	45.9	23.1	20.6
Fresno	42.1	12.6	6.9	46.2	19.1	29.6
Los Angeles and Long Beach	19.4	26.2	2.9	56.9	8.6	43.8
Sacramento	20.6	31.8	3.1	58.3	14.1	43.6
San Bernardino	29.0	17.8	3.4	52.9	12.8	31.7
San Diego	20.2	27.3	2.1	57.0	8.4	39.5
San Francisco	15.7	34.3	3.7	57.7	14.1	37.6
San Jose	25.4	22.2	3.8	60.2	11.7	51.2
Santa Barbara	30.0	20.1	2.6	61.3	16.1	34.5
Stockton	35.8	16.7	7.9	41.1	28.4	23.4
COLORADO						
Colorado Springs	11.9	36.7	1.6	62.2	4.7	52.8
Denver	17.4	24.8	2.4	59.5	7.0	45.4
Pueblo	22.8	15.1	6.7	56.8	14.7	29.6
NEW MEXICO						
Albuquerque	18.8	25.6	2.2	66.7	13.8	42.7
TEXAS						
Abilene	56.3	12.3	5.6	50.4	21.2	24.1
Austin	53.6	12.1	7.0	56.2	18.0	24.1
Beaumont	23.8	33.5	6.8	47.9	32.7	18.4
Corpus Christi	53.3	11.2	5.0	54.9	24.4	18.7
Dallas	40.0	18.8	4.5	53.1	18.8	23.7
El Paso	37.1	16.9	2.9	65.2	7.4	48.0
Fort Worth	28.4	25.5	4.5	49.0	17.7	22.6
Galveston	34.6	16.7	6.4	44.7	21.8	22.2
Houston	38.2	16.9	4.5	51.8	18.2	25.3
Laredo	47.0	15.7	7.5	59.9	--	--
Lubbock	67.8	4.9	3.8	53.3	18.8	18.9
Odessa	53.2	9.9	3.3	48.5	15.7	18.2
San Angelo	58.4	4.8	5.5	46.4	23.1	22.9
San Antonio.	44.3	13.2	5.4	53.3	14.9	31.3
Waco	46.	13.3	7.2	42.7	21.2	21.4

*For the population 25 years old and over, from the twenty cent sample.

The educational problem of the Spanish-speaking is a complicated one for which no easy or ready-made solution is available. Two facets of the problem are readily apparent: 1) the default of the school system, and therefore the community, in providing equality of opportunity in education for ethnic groupings, and 2) the lack of motivation for continuing education on the part of the Spanish-speaking.

The Default of the School System

The American school system, whether public or parochial, functions best when conforming middle-class administrators and teachers professing middle-class values address themselves to middle-class students who possess the same value orientation or are in the process of acquiring it. The lower-class and the minority students who do not fit in the mold are less likely to be educated and more likely to become "drop-out" statistics.

If it is true that the schools reflect the norms and values of the community, then perhaps it is equally true that its prejudices are also reflected, through acts of commission as well as omission. Few school systems can, or do, gear their curricula to the needs of this segment of the population. Few know, empirically, what the needs are. It is easier and safer to prohibit the speaking of Spanish on the school ground and in the school (the need being to learn English) than to take the imaginative step of teaching both English and Spanish to both Anglos and Spanish-speaking beginning in the elementary school. As a consequence, the "educated" Spanish-speaking person who has survived the school system is likely also to be one who has been

stripped of his native language, or at best speaks and writes it imperfectly. To the enlightened this situation is such a waste of human resources; to others, including some school teachers, the bur of proof is on the shoulders of the minority: "If you want to be American, speak American!"

How many teachers of American history in the Southwest begin with the Pilgrim Fathers rather than developing the cultural and hi rical heritage of the area, leading to the Pilgrim Fathers? The ba question being raised is this: Is there anything about the Spanish- speaking in the Southwest that is important and desirable and that could be used by the school system t bring recognition and higher status to members of that group in the eyes of their peers and the community? The answer, of course, is "yes". Do school systems take advantage of these cultural-historical experiences and contributions Aside from a few instances, the answer, unfortunately, is "no".

In brief, the available literature and other sources suggest, with regard to the failings of the school system, such factors as in ferior facilities and teachers, inadequate counseling, lack of encou ragement from the staff, differing curricula and programs resulting in inferior education. In a recent study:

> There were several findings not anticipated by the original hypotheses. The cumulative record folders of the Mexican-American students, by comparison with those of other students, contained a paucity of in- formation. (Folders were thinner, entries were routine.)[9]

An earlier report in the same city found that some schools

differed in terms of academic versus vocational curricula. But even in the vocational curriculum in the school that was predominantly Mexican-American, there were twelve courses in upholstery but none in the machine shop.[10]

LACK OF MOTIVATION

There appears to be a consensus of opinion among most observers, professional and non-professional, that the Spanish-speaking lack sufficient motivation to stay in school. It is further observed that the most important contributing factors are: the different cultural setting including the value-orientations, lack of supportative behavior from family and peer groups, lack of understanding of the role that the school can play in economic and social mobility, and then the more common-place stereotypical reasons: they are lazy, shiftless, they don't care to get ahead and they lack (inherent) ability. Many cases can be pointed out to support the above contentions.

The writer has often sought explanations for lack of motivation in the culture and social structure of the group under consideration. At the same time he has often been puzzled by the disproportionate drop-out rate of this population in comparison with its desire for an education. Talk to the "man-in-the-street," at the tavern, in his home, at meetings, and in the field, about the importance of an education. Listen to his aspirations, for himself and for his children. He invariably will speak regretfully of his lack of education and how it has kept him from getting a decent, steady and "easy" (inside work) job or how it has hindered any opportunity for

advancement. He will also tell you his plans for his children (which you know, statistically, will never come true).

If the very great majority of the Spanish-speaking enroll their youngsters in the elementary schools; if these children in great proportion continue through the eighth grade; and then if the tremendous drop-out occurs at the end of junior high school or the beginning of senior high school -- is the lack of motivation to be sought as having its genesis within the group or outside of the group? (The writer submits the opinion that this lack of motivation originates in the school and community where the child, in the process of gaining an education, internalized attitudes of inferiority, futility and frustration.) If he looks about him and wonders about his occupational, educational and status opportunities; about the section of town and the house in which he lives; about his role models; his socio-economic status and the opportunities open to him, he is likely not to be inspired to great effort. If, too, neither his family, peer groups, school nor community come forth with continuing efforts of encouragement and support, dropping out of school and getting a job is probably the best answer to his situation.

If there is much motivation in the early elementary grades (as suggested by high enrollments), what happens to it in the eighth, ninth and tenth grades? This is a question that is open to research rather than assertions and opinions.

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Tract Analysis

Table 5 considers six SMSA's in terms of high- and low-density (Spanish-speaking tracts. //explain methodology// in comparison of the median school years completed in these tracts, all but one low-density tract has a higher median than the high-density tracts. The range of the differences between the tracts is from one grade (Albuquerque suberb) to seven grades (Phoenix and El Paso fringe); most tracts in the Southwest differ more than three grades. The data for the Spanish-speaking by tract reveal about the same pattern, i.e., almost every low-density tract has a higher median than the high-density tracts. In only six instances does the median school years completed of the Spanish equal that of the total population. Since tracts are supposed to be fairly homogeneous areas, it is a little surprising to find such large differences between the two populations in median school years completed, as occurs in some tracts.

If one takes the number of children in the tract who are enrolled in elementary school as a percentage of the number of children who are between the ages of six and thirteen, no general pattern of differences between high- and low-density tracts is revealed.[7]

The number of children enrolled in high school, as a percentage of those between fourteen and seventeen years of age, shows very important differences between tracts.[8] The data are suggestive of a very heavy drop-out in high-density tracts after the age of thirteen. Although a general attrition could be expected from elementary school to high school, note that in Phoenix (fringe) the attrition in the high-density tract is 87% and only 20% in the low-density

tract. In more than one-third of the comparisons, there is more than 40% attrition in the transition from elementary to high school.

The differences (between high- and low-density tracts) in the percentages enrolled in high school vary as much as 98% (Albuquerque, central city). The general pattern is for a substantially higher enrollment in high school in the low-density tracts. //explain Table 5//

Table 5. Educational status of Spanish-surname and total population by selected tracts in six S M S A's in the Southwest.*

	Central City		Fringe		Suburb	
Phoenix Tracts:	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Per cent Spanish	76	14	59	11	66	22
Md. School years Total	5	10	5	12	7	9
Md. School years Spanish	4	8	5	9	5	-
% Elementary School (6-13)	101	110	107	102	107	113
% High School (14-17)	45	82	20	82	53	70
Los Angeles Tracts:						
Per cent Spanish	88	22	80	20	54	9
Md. School years Total	7	12	6	11	10	12
Md. School years Spanish	7	11	4	9	9	10
% Elementary School (6-13)	107	100	95	100	101	100
% High School (14-17)	76	107	85	95	92	110
Pueblo Tracts:						
Per cent Spanish	63	20	50	19	50	8
Md. School years Total	8	10	8	11	9	13
Md. School years Spanish	8	8	8	10	7	-
% Elementary School (6-13)	105	103	95	94	94	94
% High School (14-17)	69	97	96	111	70	89
Albuquerque Tracts:						
Per cent Spanish	79	11	78	27	65	35
Md. School years Total	8	13	7	13	9	10
Md. School years Spanish	7	-	7	10	8	8
% Elementary School (6-13)	105	115	106	88	111	108
% High School (14-17)	109	207	52	131	151	112
El Paso Tracts:						
Per cent Spanish	86	22	95	14	85	32
Md. School years Total	7	13	6	13	9	12
Md. School years Spanish	6	10	5	11	4	12
% Elementary School (6-13)	104	99	116	104	113	95
% High School (14-17)	63	83	62	105	92	108
San Antonio Tracts:						
Per cent Spanish	95	32	71	7	83	33
Md. School years Total	4	12	10	5	5	8
Md. School years Spanish	4	6	8	4	4	4
% Elementary School (6-13)	102	87	100	106	87	105
% High School (14-17)	52	68	44	78	47	78

*Adapted from Samora, Julian, The Spanish Speaking People in the U.S.